FORM 12-62 2024

INTELLIGENCE REFERENCE AID
COMPLETED AS/No. 1582/66 DATED 22 JUNE 1966

C NOTICE OF SPECIAL PAPER

No. 2024-66

Approved For Release 2001/03/09 : CIA-RDP79T00826A000900220001-2

SUBJECT : Bolivian Elections

STATINTL REQUESTED BY : DDP/[redacted]

PURPOSE : Reference Aid

DESIRED LENGTH :

SPECIAL DISSEM : Routine internal and external dissem plus 5 to Droller GRAPHICS?

COORDINATION OUTSIDE OCI :

STATINTL ASSIGNED TO : [redacted]/WH/OCI DUE DATE:

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2. O/DDI ____ 5. DD/S&T ____ P/A ____ P/A ____ P/A ____

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OCI Special Paper Notice No. 207-66 Control No. 1552 /66

SUBJECT: Bolivian Elections Date 22 June 66

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THE WHITE HOUSE		STATE	DEFENSE	
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Gen. Maxwell Taylor	-1			

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FORM 4 USE PREVIOUS EDITION 12-63

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(24)

SECRET

SPECIAL CENTER CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

23 JUNE 1966

UNIT NO.

PRIORITY | IMMEDIATE

TO: [redacted] 25X1A

ORIGINATOR [redacted] 25X1A

INFO: [redacted] 25X1A

DIVISION OCI/PRES

EXTENSION 7562

FROM: CIA/OCI

SOURCE REF.

TYPE IN CAPITAL LETTERS, DOUBLE SPACED

TO

CITE

SECRET

SCHASHINGTON

PRIORITY [redacted] 25X1A

INTEL MEMO NO. 1578/66 OF 17 JUNE ENTITLED THE LEADERSHIP UPHEAVAL IN COMMUNIST CHINA AND INTEL REFERENCE AID NO. 1582/66 OF 22 JUNE ENTITLED BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN PASSED TO THE [redacted] COPIES BEING POUCHED YOU. SUMMARIES FOLLOW: 25X1A

1. NO. 1578/66(SECRET): COMMUNIST CHINA HAS, IN A SENSE, ENTERED A TRANSITION PERIOD EVEN BEFORE MAO'S FINAL DEPARTURE. MAO'S ABSENCES FROM THE PUBLIC SCENE ARE GROWING LONGER AND LONGER, SUGGESTING RECURRING ILLNESSES, PERHAPS OF GROWING SERIOUSNESS. CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING HIS LAST ABSENCE FOR FIVE AND ONE-HALF MONTHS THIS PAST WINTER AND SPRING ARE UNKNOWN, BUT IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT EVENTS WOULD HAVE UNFOLDED AS THEY HAVE IF HIS GRIP ON THE PARTY HAD NOT SLIPPED.

MAO TSE-TUNG PROBABLY REMAINS THE DOMINANT LEADER, AND CAN

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ROUTING					
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SECRET

GROUP 1
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TO:

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PAGE TWO

AND CAN PROBABLY IMPOSE HIS WILL. BUT AT LEAST SINCE NOVEMBER HAS NOT HAD THE SURE SUSTAINED CONTROL OF EVENTS THAT A PARTY LEADER AIMS AT; HE IS MORE DEPENDENT ON HIS KEY LIEUTENANTS THAN HE USED TO BE; AND NOT ALL OF THEM ARE THOROUGHLY RELIABLE IN HIS TERMS. IT IS POSSIBLE, MOREOVER, THAT HE IS BEING PUSHED BY AMBITIOUS COLLEAGUES TO TURN OVER TO THEM MORE AND MORE OF THE PARTY MACHINERY AND THE AUTHORITY TO MAKE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. IT COULD BE THAT WE ARE SEEING THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE LONG ERA.

C. AT THE PRESENT MOMENT, THE SITUATION IS HIGHLY FLUID. DISCLOSURES ALREADY MADE POINT TO A POWER PLAY BY TENG HSIAO-PING, THE POWERFUL GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY, WHO SEEMS TO BE MAKING A BID TO REPLACE LIU SHAO-CHI AS MAO'S DEPUTY IN THE PARTY AND THEREFORE THE HEIR APPARENT, AND IN THIS HE MAY BE SUCCEEDING. TENG IS PROBABLY WORKING WITH OR USING LIN PIAO, WHOSE PLACE IN THE ARMY WOULD MAKE HIM A DEDICATED ALLY. TENG PROBABLY BUILT THE CASE THAT LED TO THE RECENT PURGE OF PENG CHEN, A RIVAL IN MAO'S

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PAGE THREE

INNER CIRCLE OF ADVISERS, AND IS PROBABLY ATTEMPTING TO PLACE LOYAL FOLLOWERS IN KEY SPOTS THROUGHOUT THE PARTY, SECURITY, AND MILITARY APPARATUS. PENG CHEN HAS ALREADY BEEN REPLACED IN THE PEKING CITY APPARATUS WITH ONE OF TENG'S PROTEGES.

D. TENG IS IN A KEY SLOT. AS GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY AND RANKING MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT, HE CONTROLS THE DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS OF THE PARTY MACHINE. THERE ARE IMPORTANT PARALLELS BETWEEN TENG'S POSITION TODAY AND THAT OF STALIN AND KHRUSHCHEV WHEN THEY MADE THEIR BIDS FOR SUPREME POWER.

E. THE DURATION OF THIS FIGHT AND ITS OUTCOME ARE CONJECTURAL. FORCES HAVE ALREADY BEEN LOOSED WHICH MAY BE HARD TO CAGE AGAIN. IF THE PROCESS IS A LENGTHY ONE--A DEFINITE POSSIBILITY--IT COULD TURN DISORDERLY. MEN WHO HAVE SUBMERGED DIFFERENCES AND AMBITIONS UNDER MAO WILL NOT NECESSARILY CONTINUE TO DO SO UNDER HIS SUCCESSOR. THE SITUATION COULD EVEN DEGENERATE INTO REGIONALISM, WHICH TRADITIONALLY APPEARS WHEN CENTRAL AUTHORITY IS WEAKENED.

F. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO SEE ABRUPT SHIFTS IN DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN

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POLICY WHILE THE STRUGGLE GOES ON. ALL THE CONTENDERS--LIU SHAO CHI, TENG HSIAO-PING, CHOU EN-LAI AND LIN PIAO--ARE HARDLINE CHINESE COMMUNISTS , AND QUICK CHANGES ARE UNLIKELY. THERE MIGHT BE SOME MODIFICATIONS IN APPROACH, HOWEVER, IF ONLY IN REACTION TO THE IMMORTALISM OF MAO'S DECLINING YEARS. ANY NEW LEADERSHIP MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, ELECT TO TURN THE COUNTRY'S ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS IT FACES AT HOME IN AN EFFORT TO GET THE CHINESE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION MOVING AGAIN.

NO. 1570/66 (CONFIDENTIAL):

2. ON 3 JULY 1966 SOME ONE MILLION BOLIVIANS, HALF OF THEM ILLITERATE OR SEMILITERATE CAMPESINOS, WILL ELECT A PRESIDENT, A VICE-PRESIDENT, 102 DEPUTIES, AND 27 SENATORS. THE NEW GOVERNMENT, SCHEDULED TO BE INSTALLED ON 6 AUGUST, WILL RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL RULE TO BOLIVIA BROKEN ON 4 NOVEMBER 1964 WITH THE MILITARY OVERTHROW

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PAGE FIVE

OF VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO. THE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD UNDER THE 1956 ELECTORAL LAW, AMENDED BY SUPREME DECREE ON 28 JANUARY 1960. [illegible] THE TEXT/OTHER [illegible] AND STATISTICS [illegible] THE VOTING PROCESS.

END OF MESSAGE

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OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE

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SUBJECT: Bolivian Elections (Intelligence Reference Aid)

REQUESTED OR ORIGINATED BY: Requested by DDP/[redacted]K1A

DISSEMINATION: Routine internal and external

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

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22 June 1966
No. 1582/66
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INTELLIGENCE REFERENCE AID

BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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No. 1582/66

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
22 June 1966

INTELLIGENCE REFERENCE AID*

Bolivian Elections

Introduction

On 3 July 1966 some one million Bolivians, half of them illiterate or semiliterate campesinos, will elect a president, a vice-president, 102 deputies, and 27 senators. The new government, scheduled to be installed on 6 August, will restore constitutional rule to Bolivia broken on 4 November 1964 with the military overthrow of Victor Paz Estenssoro. The elections will be held under the 1956 Electoral Law, amended by Supreme Decree on 28 January 1966.

*Prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence

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Date of Election: 3 July 1966

Population: Approximately 3.5 million

Eligible Voters: There are an estimated 1.8 million voters; as of 16 June 1,160,450 people had registered for the 1966 election.

Requirements for Voting: Citizenship is held by all Bolivians 21 years of age or 18 years of age if married. In theory, all citizens except those over 70 years of age are required to vote.

Offices to be Filled: President, vice-president, 27 senators (3 from each of the 9 Departments), and 102 deputies. Each Department will elect 5 "basic" deputies plus one for each 50,000 inhabitants excluding the population of the Departmental capitals.

Terms of Office: The president and vice-president are elected directly by the voters if they receive 50 percent of the vote. If they do not, Congress will take the three having the greatest vote and decide among them. If after the first ballot none has majority, the ballot vote will be limited to the two having the greatest vote. The term of office for both is four years. Neither can be re-elected until four years after the end of his term of office, nor can the vice-president be elected president until the expiration of four years.

Three senators are elected from each of the nine Departments. Two are elected from the party receiving the largest vote, and the third comes from the party receiving the second largest vote. The term of office is six years, but one third will stand for re-election at the end of two years. These will be selected by lots.

The deputies are elected directly within each Department. The term of office is four years, but half will stand for re-election after two years. Those leaving will be chosen by lot. Each Department will elect five "basic" deputies plus one for each 50,000 population outside of the capital. That party or parties obtaining the most votes

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receives 80 percent, or 82, of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The party or coalition of parties receiving the next highest number of votes receives 20 percent, or 20 deputy seats.

Below is a table showing the distribution of seats in the Chamber of Deputies:

Department	Majority Party	Minority Party	Total Deputies
La Paz	17	5	22
Cochabamba	11	3	14
Potosi	13	4	17
Chuquisaca	8	2	10
Tarija	5	2	7
Oruro	7	2	9
Santa Cruz	8	2	10
Beni	6	2	8
Pando	4	1	5

Competing Parties: As of 16 June 1966 the following parties and/or fronts have indicated their intention to participate in the elections:

PARTY	PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
Bolivian Revolutionary Front (FRB) (center-left)	Rene Barrientos Ortuno Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas
Christian Democratic Community (CDC) (conservative--front for the Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB))	General Bernadino Bilbao Rioja Gonzalo Romero
Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) (center-left)	Victor Andrade Rafael Otzao

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Pazestenssorista Revolutionary Movement (MRP) (leftist)	Mario Diez de Medina Mariano Baptista Gumucio
Democratic Institutionalist Alliance (AID) (rightist)	Enrique Hertzog Eduardo Montes y Montes
National Liberation Front (FLIN) (Communist)	Felipe Iniquez Mario Miranda Pacheco

The Balloting: Polls open at 8:00 a.m. and can remain open no longer than 8 consecutive hours unless people are still waiting in line. After presenting his electoral card and signing the register, the voter obtains an envelope from the electoral board which has been signed in his presence by the president of the board and at least half of the other board members who are delegates from the political parties. He enters the booth where he finds the ballots. Each party or coalition of parties has a colored ballot to facilitate easy identification by the illiterate. The voter selects the color of his choice or a white, blank ballot if he prefers not to vote for any, places it in the envelope, and seals it. The sealed envelope is then deposited in an urn on the table where the electoral board is seated. The voter's hand is then marked with indelible ink. When the voting is closed the urn is opened and the envelopes are counted to make sure that the number does not exceed the number who signed or marked the register. The envelopes are opened and votes are tallied publicly. The totals and the ballots are then sent to the Departmental electoral board where Departmental votes are tallied. The Departmental votes are then sent to the National Electoral Court in La Paz for validation and final counting. The National Electoral Board has 30 days in which to proclaim the official winner. An indication of the outcome of the voting should be gained within 12 to 24 hours after the polls close.

Current Registration: The nationwide voter registration is 1,160,450 out of a population estimated in 1964 at 3,563,000. Of this nationwide registration, the total for the capital Departmental cities came to 276,135 and the rural registration to 791,851. The total number of votes cast in the 1964 presidential elections was 1,297,319, and in

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the 1962 congressional elections 1,066,480. The only meaningful comparison which can be made between the forthcoming election and previous ones is of the votes cast and present registration. In 1964 the MNR was the only party to present a ticket for president and vice-president, and two small groups presented partial slates of candidates for senator and deputy. Below is a table of the vote in previous elections by Departments and the present registration figures:

Departments	1962	1964	1966 (registration)
La Paz	370,983	458,501	442,040
Cochabamba	251,337	243,848	224,177
Potosi	95,984	161,233	90,100
Chuquisaca	65,094	101,788	75,745
Tarija	41,155	60,711	42,327
Oruro	53,862	59,630	55,016
Santa Cruz	147,332	150,227	115,243
Beni	31,900	47,758	21,012
Pando	8,833	13,623	2,256
	1,066,480	1,297,319	1,160,450

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